609 [576] himself to me, offering me some supper with another word which I had also learned: "Cobicobi."

Then I went into one end of the large house which is [591] occupied by men only, and there made my quarters. [82]

The Mundurucu whose hammocks hung on that side, and whose nearness might have disturbed me, graciously ceded me the space and moved to the other side.

I wish to emphasize the generous hospitality I received [574] in Necodemos; it was all the more surprising as it came from barbarians altogether unacquainted with our social customs. Everything was placed at my disposal; nothing was done that might offend or inconvenience me.

Men, old and young, stood in a circle round me. Not [562 342] a single woman was present -- not even one child of the female sex. Only men were admitted to the large dwelling where I lodged, which was situated in the middle of the village and called ekçá.

My visit was a festive occasion for the savages; they gazed with astonishment at everything they saw: the spermacetti candle which I lit, the watch, the travelling case, the writing case [carteira]. They scrutinized every object, passing it from hand to hand in the midst of noisy laughter.

This went on until midnight. The Mundurucu greatly enjoyed this diversion; it was to them a unique and quite unexpected event. Finally, I told them that I was tired, and they replied: "Well, then, go to sleep!" Each repaired immediately to his hammock, saying: "See you tomorrow" -- "Cuia dhẽ."

513 534 But these barbarians have the custom of blowing a horn all through the night in their quarters or ekçá. It seems to be a sign of watchfulness. Now one, now another who happens to awaken, forsakes his comfort [tira-se de seus cuidados], seizes the horn which always hangs from the roof above his hammock, and blows upon it as long as he pleases. After him another man follows suit. And this monotonous and melancholy music echoes mournfully through the surrounding forest. It is strictly a savage pastime. [83]

342 east. Thus oriented, the house is excellently ventilated and im-
361 mune from the invasion of gnats and other insufferable mosquitoes, which are the agony of those who live in the heart of the forest or on the banks of streams. The rays of the rising sun penetrate freely into the house and overcome the morning cold, which is quite intense. The ekçá is only for sound men, warriors, and
342 their sons over eight years of age.

513 Each warrior slings his hammock wherever he pleases inside the house.

351 On the grounds, and also towards the east, stand three rows of posts connected by crossbeams where the warriors string their hammocks on clear summer nights. [103]

352 Each warrior keeps within his reach everything he owns, hanging from the roof of the ekçá above his hammock -- bows, arrows, warclub, and horn.

352 They all sleep in hammocks woven of cotton thread and so
513 small that they must lie motionless so as not to fall on the floor.

462 The cotton is planted by the Indian women, who also pre-
248 pare the thread and the netting.

354 Inside the ekçá, many fires burn at night amid the warriors' hammocks.

342 Around the ekçá stand the houses of the women, which also
361 shelter the children of both sexes, the decrepit old men, and the sick.

In Necodemos these houses are five in number, quite large, built with greater care [than the ekçá], higher and completely enclosed, having as a door only one opening or sometimes two. There are no interior partitions whatever: the house is altogether communal; but the mothers, with their children, their decrepit old men, and their sick, each take care of one part of the house and
352 there hang their hammocks. Near them they keep their implements, namely: brooms, looms, baskets, etc. In the center of
354 the house stand one or two ovens to make manioc flour: they consist merely of crude stones, more or less flattened, standing on other stones. A fire burns under this oven. The warriors may
352 come into the women's house whenever they please; but the women
[563] never set foot in the ekçá. It is in the women's houses that the more precious objects are kept, such as feather ornaments, necklaces of human teeth, enemy heads, etc.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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meters, but during July in the same period an average of only 6.05 mm. fell. The extremes during this seven-year ranged from 530.4 mm. in January, 1947, to no rainfall in July, 1945, and again in 1951. The rivers rise and fall with the rains, overflowing their banks in November or December and receding in May.

Contrary to popular belief, the heat is seldom excessive in this part of Brazil. Although the sea breezes that blow up the Amazon from the sea as far as Manaos every evening are not felt in the upper Tapajós, the temperature usually drops at night to very comfortable levels. It was my experience that one could use pajamas and two cotton blankets at night; the Mundurucú, who do not possess such luxuries, generally sleep in their cotton clothes and awaken at three or four in the morning to light a small fire beneath their hammocks. There are no great variations in temperature from one month to another. Days are slightly warmer and nights cooler during the dry season, but the lower humidity makes it more agreeable than the rains. Maximum temperatures throughout the year range between 87° and 95° F. (30° and 35° C.), minimum temperatures between 63° and 77° F. (17° and 25° C.). During June, a cold wind blows from the distant Andes and chills the entire region for two to four days. Temperatures then fall to as low as 63° F. (17° C.).

THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The Mundurucú habitat is surely not an earthly paradise, but neither is it the "green hell" so often pictured by royalty-minded travelers and writers. The Brazilians of the Tapajós River, however, do live in a social and economic hell. They distinguish themselves from the Indians by the self-designation of *civilizado* or, less often, *cristão* (Christian). The Indian is commonly called *caboclo* by them,

476 the women of her household. Occasionally, two or more
591 men of the same household will plan a garden jointly, al-
621 though this is not normal procedure. In hunting, the man may join in a communal chase with all other men or with only a few of his choice, who may be from any household. In short, the bridegroom is expected to show respect, def-
[606] erence, and a degree of obedience to his father-in-law, but there are few occasions on which the men of the house act as a unit under central direction. This extends even to the construction of the house, for each dwelling of a new village is erected by the collective labor of all residents.

The men are by no means completely disassociated from
591 the dwellings of their wives. The husbands frequently re-
593 lax there, visit their children, or take a snack of food. And,
621 as has been noted, the passage of years usually sees a consolidation of ties between man and wife and, concomitantly, with her household; it also sees the growth of the husband's prestige within the extended family unit. But most of the male's time is passed in the men's house, and the locus of his political and economic activity remains in its framework and not in that of the household. The relationship between men's house and dwelling will become clearer when the organization of the latter is discussed.

345 In the eksá lineal affiliations are recognized in the sleep-
• 513 ing arrangements. On each side of the men's house and
61 down its middle are horizontal poles, running the full length of the house five feet above the ground. These supports form the stays from which two rows of hammocks are hung. The men of the Red moiety always sleep in the south row, those of the White in the north. Individual clans have no fixed place in each row, for clan composition in each village is too variable. The oldest men always hang their hammocks in the rear of the shelter, where they gain

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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greatest protection from the weather. Other men, first of the same clan and then of the same phratry, hang their hammocks adjacent to these older men, but the boys and adolescents are expected to sleep in the less favored forward part of the eksá whatever their lineal affiliations. This is less a violation of clan unity than an affirmation of the prestige accorded to age in Mundurucú society.

The men's house is the single most important institution in the structuring of male activity. It serves as an informal forum in which plans are discussed and decisions made, and each man interacts with every other man to a greater extent within its precincts than if the village were organized strictly along extended family lines. The men generally take their first meal of the day in the men's house, shortly after dawn, and set out from there in groups for the day's hunt. On their return to the village, they leave their kill with their wives and then go to bathe. They return from the stream to the men's house and there relax in their hammocks until all have returned and the evening repast is ready. Some pass their time while waiting in making baskets, bows, arrows, and other items. When the food is cooked, a younger member of each household goes to the house to bring its contribution to the communal meal. A loud shout goes up to call in the stragglers, and all gather about the pots. The oldest help themselves first, and second choice is given to the boys. After the evening meal, the occupants of the eksá lie in their hammocks and converse; most fall asleep soon after night falls.

The emphasis on coöperation between the men transcends the practical necessities of Mundurucú ecological adaptation, and it is looked upon as good and valued behavior in itself. No man refuses an invitation to take part in garden breaking, for, not only will he one day expect reciprocity, but to refuse would be to disassociate himself